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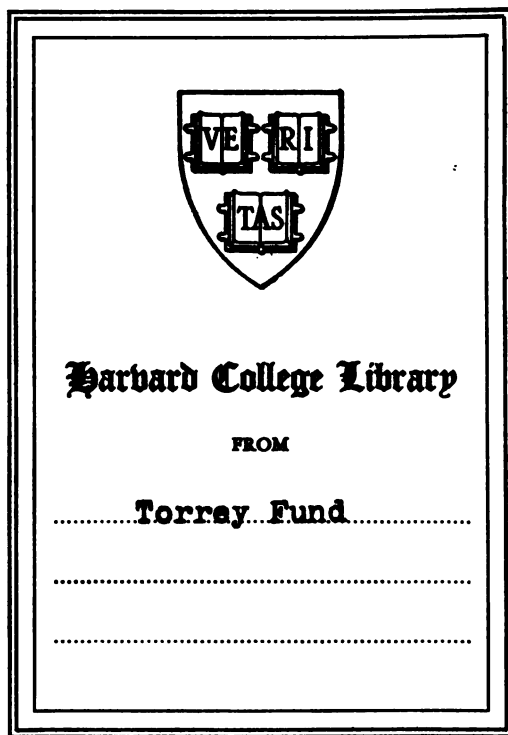
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A Chapter on the Basto War

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ON THE BASUTO WAR.

A LECTURE

BY

THE HON. CHARLES BROWNLEE, C.M.G.

Read before the St. Andrew's Literary Society,
King William's Town, 1887.

Reprinted from the "Christian Express."

LOVEDALE: SOUTH AFRICA.

PRINTED AT THE MISSION PRESS.

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* Please return to *

Paul Brownlee

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Tennant, J.

A CHAPTER
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The events connected with the Basuto war are of such recent date, and so fresh in the memory of most of this audience, that I fear I have chosen an unattractive subject for this evening ; but as I may be able to clothe with some experiences, to me at least interesting, the skeleton and disjointed information which from time to time reached us from the seat of war, I trust that my paper may not be altogether void of interest, and that I may not be deemed egotistical in narrating facts in which the first personal pronoun will of necessity be largely used.

Before entering upon my narration I must crave your indulgence whilst I take a brief review of the events which led up to the Basuto rebellion, and which may put a somewhat different construction on the action of Government from that which is held by many, and no doubt shared in even by some of my hearers.

EVENTS WHICH LED TO THE BASUTO WAR.

After the close of the war of 1877, the Government, as in duty bound, cast about for some measure to ensure the security of the Colony and to prevent war in the future, and the measure which suggested itself was the Peace Preservation or Disarmament Act of 1879. Had there

been any possibility of carrying out the provisions of this enactment, it would have proved for Natives as well as Colonists the best measure ever passed by the Colonial Legislature.

Many who were supposed to have experience in Native matters considered that the Act could be carried out, arguing that as the Natives had no use for their arms, there being no game to kill, they would willingly surrender them in consideration of a money compensation.

Others went farther, and argued that as there was no game to kill, the only use the Natives could apply their guns to was to shoot the white man, and therefore the guns must be taken from them whether they liked it or not, compensation of course to be made.

On the other side, while it was admitted that disarmament would be an effectual preventive of war, and would therefore ensure the best interests of Natives and Europeans alike, it was asserted that the measure could not be carried out, and that any attempt to enforce it would necessarily end in failure, and place us in a worse position than we were in before the attempt. It was said that the sole effect of the attempt would be to weaken ourselves, for the only arms that would be surrendered would be those that had never been, and would never be, used against us, and that those whom it was desirable to disarm would not surrender their arms. In answer to the opinion that the Kaffirs would willingly give up their arms on condition of compensation, it was replied that the bearing of arms was one of the most cherished customs of the Natives, and in fact formed part of their religion; for when lads were initiated into the privileges of manhood, a tribal gathering took place, the leading men and elders put arms into

the hands of their youths, informing them that they were a sign of their manhood, and with these arms they were to defend their chief and country and themselves, adding: "Hold to your arms." Orations were then delivered by the chief and most eloquent men of the tribe on the duties of the young men, the substance and text of the admonition being that having left the ranks and practices of boyhood, they were for the future to conduct themselves as men; and it may easily be imagined that an interference with the most interesting ceremony in a man's life would not be lightly estimated.

[It was further pointed out that the Native policy then in operation was working well; that the bulk of the Natives were contented under our Government, and as a rule took their cases to the magistrates in preference to going to their own chiefs; that the chiefs no doubt would gladly make an attempt to regain their power and influence over the people in opposition to the magistrate, but were powerless for evil: whereas, if disarmament were enforced, each man would have a grievance, and we would thus be working into the hands of evil-disposed chiefs. However desirable disarmament was, it was asserted that it could not be accomplished, for we had neither men nor means for carrying it out; and in attempting it we would unite against us in one common grievance every man of every tribe from the Fish River to the Zambezi.

Nevertheless the opposite counsels prevailed. The enormous advantages to be gained by the measure were not to be lightly relinquished, at least not without a trial for its adoption, and it was fully believed that with the offer of compensation and a little judicious pressure, the measure could be carried out without any danger of resistance. But

we began at the wrong end. We disarmed Kama's tribe and the Fingoes, people who had in every war used their arms on our side. We disarmed Siwani's tribe, who in the late rebellion remained faithful to us, and we disarmed those Gaikas who in 1877 abandoned their own chiefs and stood by us. I believe that some of the Government officials, to whom the work was entrusted, found it easier than had been anticipated, and led the Government to believe that the people were not particularly dissatisfied; nevertheless a deep feeling of bitterness was engendered and remains to the present day. Compensation was made to the full value of the arms surrendered, but as a rule it was less than one half of what the purchasers had originally paid for the surrendered guns.

POSITION TAKEN BY THE BASUTOS.

The operation having thus to all appearance been satisfactory and successful, the Government thought it might be extended to the Basutos; but as they distinctly objected to surrender their arms, and as they had sent a deputation to Cape Town to protest against the application of the Act to them, the Premier proceeded to Basutoland to endeavour to induce the Basutos to yield. But as they proved inexorable further action was left in abeyance till the Basutos themselves should see it to be to their interest to yield and voluntarily surrender their arms.

Molapo, son of Moshesh, second to Letsie in rank and power, died shortly after the Premier's visit to Basutoland. His dying injunction to Jonathan, his son and successor, was, that he was to surrender his arms rather than resist Government, and in filial regard for his father's injunction Jonathan with a number of his clan surrendered their arms

and were followed by George and Sofonia, minor sons of Moshesh, and by the Hlubi chief, Tokonya, a cousin of Langalibalele, who with his clan had for many years been domiciled in Basutoland. This action having been in direct opposition to the expressed determination of the Basuto chiefs and bulk of the people, steps were at once taken by them to punish those who had yielded. Joel, the second in rank of Molapo's sons, sided with Letsie and Masupha against Jonathan—many of Molapo's clan adhering to Joel—while Masupha and Lerothodi, the chief son of Letsie, declared war against those who had surrendered their arms, attacking them and depriving them of their property and driving them from their homes. An appeal for protection was made to the Government by those who were suffering for a compliance with its wishes, and the Government sent off to Basotuland every available man of the Cape Mounted Rifles for their protection. As the succours entered Basutoland they were attacked by Lerothodi, and thus began the Basuto war. It will thus be seen that the force sent to Basutoland was not sent to enforce disarmament as many believe, but to protect those who in compliance with our wishes had surrendered their arms.

After the attack on the loyal Basutos, and the subsequent attack on our troops, Letsie, the paramount chief of the Basutos, informed Government that the attacks had been made against his orders, and that he personally was on the side of Government. At the same time he sent to inform the powerful Basuto clans located in East Griqualand under my jurisdiction, that the child (Lerothodi) had got into conflict with the Government, and that they must support him; but that he as an old man could take no

active part in the war, and would sit quietly at home. This happened in September 1880. In the previous April, I had obtained information from a reliable source that Letsie had sent messengers to the Basutos in my Division in East Griqualand, urging them to make common cause with the Basutos in Basutoland to resist disarmament, asserting that this was not a question affecting only Basutoland, but that it was one affecting all the tribes in South Africa, and if they stood aloof while the Basutos were being disarmed, their turn would follow. This message was also sent to other tribes, and all intimated their adhesion to the Basuto cause, promising to stand by Letsie in case of need. This I reported at the time to Government, remarking that heretofore in our conflicts with the Natives we were enabled to localize the struggle and bring friendly tribes to our assistance; but that should a rising take place on the disarmament question, we should stand quite alone, and could not count on the assistance of a single tribe, and that even those who might be disposed to side with us would be swept away in the flood of general resistance, and would be compelled to purchase present safety by siding with our opponents.

MEETING AT MATATIELA.

Matters now had assumed a most serious aspect. I had held a meeting of the Basutos at Matatiela, intimating to them that the disarmament policy of the Government had been abandoned, and that disarming would simply be voluntary. This announcement had been received with acclamation by the meeting, and I was requested to permit the assembled multitude to celebrate the joyful announcement by a great war dance, but I objected to the perform-

ance. My division was after this denuded of troops, who were ordered to Basutoland, and a conflict had taken place between these troops and the Basutos. The whole country was thus thrown into the utmost excitement, and the results which in the previous April I had assured Government would follow any attempt at disarmament, were beginning to be realized.

My duty appeared quite plain. I saw that a struggle was inevitable. Recently and publicly, I had made a statement before a large meeting. This statement appeared to be belied by facts; a conflict had already taken place on the disarmament question; and this conflict had been greatly misrepresented and exaggerated. Certain Basuto chiefs and men of the Hlubi clan in Basutoland had voluntarily, against the decision of the Basuto chiefs and people, surrendered their arms; these people were being attacked by the Basutos, who had decided to resist disarmament, as indicated by my letter of 1st April 1879 already referred to. It was now necessary to place these points clearly before the people, and to shew them that my communication to them in September was honest and true, for in all my dealings with Natives I had always been most scrupulous and exact in the truthfulness and honesty of all statements made to them.

With the view of correcting any misapprehension which might have arisen; to do all in my power to prevent a rising; to secure as far as possible the safety of the farmers and traders in the division; and in case of a rising to create a diversion, I left for Matatiela on Thursday, 31st September 1880. I took with me Mr. Strachan, who had great influence with the Natives; Mr. Hawthorn, the Magistrate of Umzimkulu, and an escort of twenty-five armed Na-

tives under Mr. Catherine ; having previously arranged with Mr. Liefeldt, Magistrate of Matatiela, to call a general meeting of the people of his district to meet me on Saturday.

INTENDED TREACHERY.

On Friday afternoon as I approached Matatiela, a Hlubi headman named Umgubo came to meet me. He informed me that the Basutos had decided on coming armed to the meeting, and had resolved on assassinating me and the other members of my party, as well as Mr. Liefeldt the Magistrate, and he begged that I would not hold the meeting as arranged. I thanked Umgubo for his information, and told him I would make no change, the meeting must be held.

On the following morning (Saturday) the Basutos began to assemble, and as each armed group filed past the Magistracy to the place of assembly, they sang their war songs, and when all had assembled a war dance with the accompanying leaping and shouting took place, and then a private meeting of the Basuto headmen and chiefs.

A few Hlubis with their chiefs and headmen also assembled. As usual they were unarmed, and kept aloof from the Basutos. It appears that the plan of assassination had been discussed by the Basutos at this meeting of chiefs and headmen ; that Ramhlangwana one of the Lepiane chiefs had objected to the thing, urging that I had come simply in the interests of peace and of the Basutos ; that I had ever acted as their friend, therefore to murder me under the circumstances would be too great an atrocity ; but it was finally settled that, at a certain stage in the proceedings, Sikaki the principal chief was to rise and make a signal, that the signal was to be repeated by his uncle

Padela, and that then the Basutos were to fall on us, and if the Hlubis made any resistance they were to share our fate. The presence of the Hlubis had been discussed at the diabolical conclave, but it was said "they are unarmed, and we can crush them under our feet." Of this arrangement we were profoundly ignorant as we assembled for the meeting.

In opening the meeting I informed the Basutos that they had broken the law in assembling with arms; that their war dances and shouts I quite understood to be a defiance to the Government through me. It was quite clear that they had decided on casting in their lot with the Basutos of Basutoland with whom, though of the same race, they had nothing to do; that they were not then on Basuto territory, but had been placed on the ground they occupied by the British Government; that they had been impoverished by wars, and came to this country with very little property; that for twelve years under the protection of the Government they had lived in peace and security, and had become rich; and most assuredly if they went into rebellion they would again become wanderers, and would not be permitted to return to the land they were now, by their folly and rebellion, abandoning. Seeing the position they had taken up, I did not believe that whatever I might say would induce them to change their views. I had even heard that they had planned to assassinate me and my party. This would not in any way help them. I had four sons who would arise to avenge my death, and even their best friends, those who had opposed the disarmament of the Basutos, would rise as one man to avenge the contemplated atrocity. I had come among them seeing that they were going to destruction. It was my duty.

I would not only perform a duty when all was smooth and pleasant, but even when danger surrounded my path I must go where duty called. I had now come to warn them. I could not have their blood upon my hands, and no Basuto should say his brother had died because I had not done my duty, and done my utmost to save him. They were now on the brink of a fearful abyss; they had not yet taken the last fatal step; but should they do so, nothing on earth would save them. They had as yet done nothing but offer a public insult to me; they had committed no overt act, such as murder and robbery; and if they would return to their homes, lay down their arms, and follow their peaceful occupations all would be well, and the demonstration of that day would be pardoned. In conclusion, I told them that they believed that all the races in South Africa were on their side, but in this they were mistaken. There were many who looked with envious eyes on the country in which the Matatiela Basutos had so rapidly become wealthy; they loved the Basuto cattle and Basuto lands more than they loved the Basutos, and these men would rather fight against the Basutos than against us. Whatever might be said for the Basutos in Basutoland, nothing whatever could be said for the Matatiela people should they go into rebellion. Having finished my address, I directed Stamper, a young Mosutu, to go to the Magistrate's house for my pipe. He ran through the crowd, shouting as he went, "Make way!" This was misunderstood by the Basutos as the signal agreed upon, and a rush was made to the horses, standing saddled close by, for battle-axes, guns and assegais; but as Sikaki continued sitting, and as Pandela made no sign, the Basutos gradually returned unarmed to the place of meeting, and as they

returned I remarked, "I see your move and understand it." The end appeared to have come, and the intense feeling of the last few moments may be more easily imagined than described. The remarks I had made, and the fact that Sikaki knew that I was cognizant of the plot to assassinate us, had for the moment disconcerted and paralyzed him, and the danger passed for the time.

WARNING TO RESIDENTS.

Mr. Strachan then, at my request, made a most telling address. He pointed out the state in which the Basutos were when they first came to Matatiela, and what he under the Griqua Government had done for them, comparing the past with the present. The usual protestations of loyalty followed, and after I had given most of the leading men an opportunity of speaking, I told them they had said exactly what I expected they would say. Arguments were now of no avail; I had discharged my duty; I wished the meeting now to break up; I would wait that day and the following at Matatiela to give them time for reflection, and if they saw the error of their ways they might again meet me. After what had taken place, I felt it my duty to stay over for two days at Matatiela, at whatever risk to myself, in order that I might give the scattered farmers and traders with their families an opportunity of reaching a place of safety, for I was convinced that I should be attacked immediately I left, and this would be a signal for the slaughter of the farmers and traders. Immediately therefore, after the close of the meeting, I sent off messengers in various directions, ordering all Europeans without the least delay, to move towards Kokstad,—Cedarville Drift Hotel, on the Umzimvubu, being the first place of meeting for them.

As the Basutos retired from the meeting, a part of them went to Sikaki's village, about a mile and a half from and in sight of the Magistracy. Here they remained for the night, the main body going to the residence of Makwai, (the father of Sikaki) which is on the way from Matatiela to Kokstad. Sikaki himself was not idle, for we could see mounted men riding furiously in all directions from his camp. These were despatched to the neighbouring chiefs who had not attended the meeting, and with whom an understanding had already been entered into, to inform them that I and my party had been cut off, and that every tribe, the Griquas included, were in arms against the Government; and when this announcement came to any chief or clan who was still on the side of Government they imagined they stood alone and that their only safety was to join in the rebellion, for it had been arranged that all who were on the side of Government were to be attacked, as had been the case in Basutoland. It was well that I had lost no time in reporting the state of affairs to Government and warning the traders and farmers, for on the following day the way was closed to us.

BESIEGED.

As it was not improbable that a night attack might be made upon us, men were sent at night to watch Sikaki's village and the fords on the Kinigha on the way to Makwai's, but the night passed without any disturbance. On the following day Marthinus Lepiane, a worthy Christian Basuto headman, came to me. He freely admitted that there could be no doubt that the Basutos had gone into rebellion. He was anxious to come out and join the Government side, but it was difficult to say where the

Government side might be found, and besides this, it would have been certain destruction for Marthinus then to attempt to leave the Basutos. Poor fellow! he left me with a sad heart. I have not since seen him; he was a very wealthy man when we parted, he is now living in the Quithing District in Basutoland in great poverty. During the day (Sunday, 3rd October) I sent a messenger to Sikaki's camp to say that I had as yet received no word from the Basutos on the proceedings of the previous day, and that as I should leave on the Monday I desired to see Sikaki before my departure. Sikaki sent to say that as he had already done wrong by appearing armed at the meeting, he was afraid to come and see me. I directed my messenger to return and inform Sikaki that I had told the meeting that what had taken place might be overlooked, but that now Sikaki was committing another offence by disobeying my direction for him to come to me. In a short while after this, Sikaki sent Ramrooba, one of his leading men, and one who was taking an active part in the rebellion, to say that since I insisted on his coming to me, he would come when his uncle Pandela arrived, and that they would come armed. Ramhlangwana, who had been with me most of the day, and who appeared to be in great distress, had left me before Ramrooba brought Sikaki's message. I had arranged with Ramhlangwana that he and Sibi, his brother, were to come to me in the morning, with as many armed mounted men as they could raise in their clan for the purpose of accompanying me, for we had been besieged since the previous day, from which time it was quite clear that we could not get back to Kokstad without cutting our way through over one thousand Basutos. About sunset, and an hour or two after Ramhlangwana's departure, he return-

ed and from his sad, grave aspect, it was quite plain he had bad news to communicate.

On enquiry why he had returned, he said "When I sent my son Stamper with fifteen men of my clan to form part of the guard for the Magistracy, it was my intention and expectation that they would serve Government faithfully to the last. One of these men followed me with the information that Ramrooba, when he came to you this afternoon, went to Stamper with a message from Sikaki saying that you were to be attacked to-night, and that Stamper was to be ready to act with the attacking party against you, to which he has agreed. "This treachery has made me sad." I directed Ramhlangwana to take Stamper and his fifteen men home with him, but that he need assign no reason for this action. I then enquired what he thought of his brother Musi who with twenty-five men formed part of the guard for the Magistracy "I know nothing of Musi; I wish to bring no charge against him; he is quite independent of me; I have only to do with my son whom I sent to join the guard." I then asked "But do you not think that as Musi belongs to the same clan as your son, Sikaki would have sent the same message to him?" "I cannot say," was the reply. "What do you think regarding Musi and his men? Do you not think they also should be sent away?" "I wish to offer no opinion on a matter that does not concern me—that is a point for you yourself to decide." I repeated the direction for Ramhlangwana to meet me in the morning, and he left with his son and his fifteen men. Having asked Mr. Strachan to make all necessary arrangements for defence, he moved from the old Cape Mounted Rifles Camp the twenty-five men of my Kokstad escort, with sixty Hlubis on whom we could rely.

These he placed inside a stone wall about four feet high, surrounding the Magistrate's huts. Ammunition was served out to each man, a couple of boxes of spare ammunition were opened and placed in the centre of the enclosure, ready for use in case of need. Each man was directed to lie on his gun, to keep his position during night, and to hold it to the last. Every man except myself was armed, and, as I could get neither revolver nor rifle, I looked about and found an American axe, which I placed beside my bed, thinking that in the dark and at close quarters, this axe would be as effective as the best weapon of war. Little was said about our position, we all felt that it was critical, and fully expected that many of us would not see another dawn, but there was no misgiving, each man was determined to do his duty. After dark Musi came to me to ask permission to visit Sikaki. Musi with his twenty-five men had been placed outside the enclosure to guard the stables, where he could have done no more harm to the little garrison than any other of Sikaki's men; and men had also been appointed to watch his movements. "And why, Musi, do you wish to see Sikaki?" "That I may hear his plans and let you know them," was the reply. "Am I a child, Musi, and do you think me blind? I do not require you or any one else to tell me what Sikaki's plans are. He is going to attack us to-night, and we are ready to resist and defend ourselves. Do not leave your post."

Having been worn out by the strain and anxiety of two days and two sleepless nights. I retired early to my room leaving the younger members of my staff to keep watch by turns. The weary hours of the night wore slowly on, the death-like silence broken only by the footfall of Strachan and the others, who at short intervals passed my door to visit the

sentinels and to see that all was in order. The only other sound was the occasional deep baying of Mr. Liefeldt's great St. Bernard dog, as he lay on the wall beside our wakeful guardians, while I lay listening for the first shout of conflict and for the first volley from our assailants.

The night passed quietly on until three o'clock in the morning, when Messrs Strachan, Liefeldt, and Hawthorn came into my room to ask what my plans were. I informed them that I saw no reason to change the plans already decided upon. We would breakfast at the usual time, and then start for Kokstad. Mr. Strachan asked if it were my intention to return by the waggon road, and I replied in the affirmative. He suggested that, as a large force under Makwai was already occupying this way, we should make a detour to avoid it. To this I at once assented. Mr. Liefeldt, the Magistrate of Matatiela, then suggested that, instead of accompanying us to Kokstad, he and his clerk, with one or two native police-men, should make a dash across country to the loyal Hlubi clans and there organize a defensive force. I told Mr. Liefeldt that as I considered the risk to him of this arrangement would be too great I could not accept it, but instead of moving out with the whole of our little garrison, would leave at the appointed time with the escort of twenty-five, and five European traders who had come to Matatiela for safety; that we would be pursued and attacked; and that when the attention of the enemy was thus drawn to us he could leave the Magistracy with the sixty loyal Hlubis, take them to their clans and organise a defence among them, and encourage them to hold hard, with the assurance that whatever might happen to us, they would soon receive sufficient aid to act on the offensive.

ESCAPE.

Breakfast finished, we saddled, and slowly descended the hill below the Magistracy. Our movements had been watched from Makwai's camp, for no sooner had we turned to make our detour than we saw a body of over two hundred horsemen riding to head us. This however did not induce us to quicken our pace, lest it should be said we had run away. Having attained the crest of the first hill, after leaving the residency, we saw a party of fifty horsemen under Ramhlangwana and Sibi coming to meet us; Makwai's detachment seeing these men ride peacefully along with us, returned to their camp, for though even with the additional fifty men we could not have expected to cope successfully with the men that Makwai could have brought against us, he did not consider it politic to break with Ramhlagwana and Sibi by attacking us while they were our escort.

Having taken us on for about ten miles to the open country overlooking the Umzimvubu, our escort returned, and at about fifteen miles from the Matatiela Magistracy we halted at the store of a worthy trader, named Bramwell, and to my astonishment, I found him surrounded by a crowd of Basutos buying his wares as fast as he could serve them. "Why are you here, Bramwell," I asked, "did you not receive notice the day before yesterday to leave for a place of safety?" "Oh, yes, I received the notice, but I see no occasion to leave, the Basutos are very civil, I am doing a better business now than I have ever before done, and the Basutos pay cash for everything."

"Send at once for your horses, you have no time to lose." The horses were sent for, but they were gone; so were the sheep and the cattle; and for the first time the

truth dawned upon poor Bramwell and Goldsworthy his assistant. I told Bramwell that it was necessary for me to push on to the camp at the Umzimvubu, but would from there send off a party at once, with horses for him and Goldsworthy.

Just as we were mounting, another difficulty arose. I saw a farmer named De Bruin arrive at Bramwell's with a troop of cattle. "What is the meaning of this De Bruin? Why are you here? Where are your wife and children? Did you not receive my order to leave."

"Oh yes, I received the order, and yesterday I packed up everything in my waggon, intending to leave this morning, but two rascally Basutos drove off my cattle. I pursued them, and have just returned with the cattle which the Basutos abandoned when they saw me." I gave De Bruin two men to assist and protect him in moving, and told him to be as expeditious as possible as he had not a moment's time to lose.

We had not proceeded far on our way when we met a clever Mosuto, named Tautoona, travelling with his family and a large drove of sheep and cattle. This Tautoona had been concerned in the Griqualand rebellion in 1878, when he was wounded, but as he appeared to be very penitent, and as he gave me important formation, he was pardoned.

"Well, Tautoona, you are travelling in the wrong direction to-day," I remarked.

"Oh! no," he replied, "the Basutos are going to fight against the Government. I have told you I would never do such a thing again; I am going to join Sibi and Ramhlangwana, who are on the Government side. I am very sorry to have to leave my master, Mr. Grierson. He was

very good to me, he gave me land to cultivate, and I got good crops, and he gave me his cattle to milk, but these rascals of Basuto rebels have taken all his property away, and now I am obliged to leave." Mr. Strachan asked Tautoona when they would meet again, and on what side he would then be, "On your side of course," replied Tautoona, "and where you die, there I will die." This rascal had his master's sheep and cattle with him at this time, and an express rifle with ammunition, and an hour or two afterwards was busy plundering De Bruin and Bramwell. He was killed in the Basuto rebellion.

PURSUED BY REBELS.

Shortly after parting from Tautoona, we saw a party of Basuto horsemen trying to head us, and far on the flats beyond them could be seen a cloud of dust raised by a large body, following what turned out to be the advanced guard of Makwai's men. After a short skirmish, without loss on either side, we drove back this advanced guard, and proceeded to Cedarville Drift, where we found all the farmers of the neighbourhood assembled, and the wildest confusion prevailing. All apprehended an immediate attack; no one took the management of anything, and each one had to shift for himself.

LAAGER FORMED.

I direct Mr. Catherine, the officer in command of my escort, to form the waggon into laager, taking the hotel as one side and the outbuildings as the other side of the camp, and closing up the two ends with the waggon.

Mr. Wylde, the Magistrate of Kokstad, had during the period of our stay at Matatiela raised a party of thirty European Volunteers for our relief, these we found at Cedarville Drift, together with one hundred Umzimkulu

Natives, whom he had withdrawn from Fort Donald, and as they had brought a small quantity of spare arms and ammunition with them, I directed a distribution among such of the farmers as had none, and in a short while order and confidence were established,

My first care on arriving in camp was to send a party of twenty men for the rescue of De Bruin and his family, and Bramwell and Goldsworthy. During the night the party returned, reporting that they could not find De Bruin and his family, and that the waggon which had been laden was found empty; and that on going to Bramwell's they found the place in the occupation of the Basutos, who were in such numbers that the party considered it inadvisable to attack them. A larger party was now sent off to make further search. Before daylight in the morning De Bruin with his wife and little children, and his two aged parents, came into camp weary and worn out. Shortly after we had left De Bruin, a party of Basutos, amongst whom was Tautoona, came to the homestead, firing on De Bruin who, with his parents and family, fled for safety into the rocks on the mountain, while the Basutos plundered the house and drove off the stock. The second relief party returned after daylight without finding Bramwell and Goldsworthy, but they also turned up during the day safe and sound.

As my presence was required in Kokstad, I left Mr. Strachan in charge of the camp, directing him to hold the position if he could, but if not, to bring the refugees on to Kokstad, which he did on the following day, and my troubles were only now to begin in earnest.

At Kokstad we had neither military nor supplies of any kind. An army had to be created, supplies collected, and defensive works constructed, in which the women and

children might take refuge in case of an attack which was threatened, and by no means improbable, but which was averted by the heavy rains which immediately afterwards followed, flooding the Umzimvubu and preventing the crossing of the Basutos. Meanwhile no one was idle. A commissariat staff had to be organized, a defence committee established, and officers nominated to take command of the Natives, who were now coming in from the Umzimkulu.

MR. LIEFELDT.

Mr. Liefeldt, whom I left at the Matatiela Magistracy, instead of adopting the arrangement I had made for him, left the post with his clerk and two policemen, according to his original suggestion, when he saw the Basutos in pursuit of us. The sixty Hlubis, who he thought would not at this stage be molested by the Basutos, were directed by Mr. Liefeldt to make their own terms with the rebels, and to follow him to their homes.

As soon as Mr. Liefeldt left the Magistracy, Musi with his twenty-five men saddled and pursued at a break-neck pace down the mountain and across the Kenigha River, and were fast gaining on the magistrate when, passing a deserted shop and seeing liquor on the counter, they stopped to drink and breathe their horses, thus giving Mr. Liefeldt time to make good his escape into the Hlubi country, where he found the people in the utmost consternation, one headman, named Sibanda, having already joined the rebels, and the remainder of the tribe apprehending an attack from an overwhelming force of Basutos, and not knowing which way to turn for safety. Here for a weary month, in rain, without supplies, without arms and ammunition, Mr. Liefeldt had his work cut out. He saw

no near prospect of aid; despondent yet hoping against hope, he did all in his power to instil courage into the hearts of a disheartened population who saw danger on every side, and were daily being attacked and threatened with destruction unless they joined in the rebellion.

I know of no position more heartbreaking and trying than that in which Mr. Liefeldt was placed. To feel oneself helpless, to be surrounded by danger without means at your disposal to meet it, and yet to have to keep up the confidence of doubting men, when confidence in oneself is dead and gone, and the last gleam of hope is well-nigh extinguished, is more trying and depressing than to be shut up to the dire necessity of a manly and fair fight as the only way of escape. Poor Liefeldt's faith sometimes almost failed. I received most desponding reports from him, and did my best to encourage him, though I was myself quite as disheartened as he, but he stuck to his post till help came and manfully did his duty.

THE HLUBIS.

Shortly after Liefeldt left the Magistracy, as already narrated, Sikaki and his men surrounded the place, believing that his father had already settled me and my small party. The sixty loyal Hlubis, left in garrison by Mr. Liefeldt, were informed as the Basutos were not at war with them but with the Government that they might leave with their arms and horses and return to their homes. The Hlubis accordingly left, but on winding their way down the steep descent from the Magistracy, and coming to a narrow part of the road, obstructed by large masses of rock fallen from the cliffs above, they found the way occupied by Sikaki's Basutos. There was nothing for it but to cut their way through. This they did after a hard struggle, leaving eleven of their number dead in the pass.

Makwai, the father of Sisaki, had in like manner on the previous day attempted to throw me off my guard, by protesting against my order for the flight of farmers and traders, who he assured me were perfectly safe, at the same time apologizing for the armed demonstration which had taken place on the day of the meeting. Makwai might have saved himself the trouble.

The unfortunate slaughter of the Hlubis at the pass below the Magistracy I sadly regretted, not only on account of the men who had fallen, but also on account of the feeling which I feared might prevail in the minds of the survivors, and because they might imagine that I had sought safety in flight, and had in a cruel and cowardly way left them to their fate; but in the end it proved most fortunate, as it showed the Hlubis that their only safety was in adherence to us.

SREAD OF THE REBELLION.

As I had foretold the Government, the rebellion spread like wildfire. The Tembu clan, bordering on Fingoland, were up in arms and threatened the Fingoes, who a short while before had been disarmed, and were in consequence helpless and discontented. It has been said that many of them contemplated joining the Tembus, and that overtures to this effect passed between them. Yet whatever the feelings of individuals may have been, the bulk of the Fingoes determined to stand by the Government, and I am inclined to think that the overtures to the Tembus were made simply to gain time to receive aid from Government, which was soon forthcoming. But be this as it may, and even though the Fingoes may have been inclined to rebel, the news of the slaughter of the Hlubis, their clansmen, and the attack of Umhlontlo upon the Fingoes, finally set all doubts at rest, and the Fingoes openly declared for the Government.

KOKSTAD.

I must now return to Kokstad, and as this paper has already wearied your patience by its length, I crave your further indulgence while I as briefly as possible narrate the events of the few following days.

I had received *carte blanche* from Government to do all that I considered necessary ; for, as already indicated, we had neither men, arms, ammunition, nor supplies : the latter had to be obtained from Natal, and the Government of that Colony kindly supplied me with five hundred rifles and ammunition ; while traders did all in their power, induced both by present necessity and the prospect of good prices, to bring up supplies. Still men were the great want, and I could not like Glendower, with his spirits, conjure up soldiers from the vasty deep.

To add to my troubles defections were going on on every side. A number of Griquas had joined the rebellion. My good friend Ramhlangwana was abandoned by his whole clan, even his sons having gone against him. Zibi, a powerful Hlubi chief and a Christian, was said to have cast in his lot with the Basutos. He seems, however, to have only temporized for present safety. He never actually went into rebellion, and afterwards did good service on the side of Government. Lebenya and Lehana, chiefs of Basuto clans, and on whom I depended, personally kept out of the rebellion, but were abandoned by many of their clansmen. And further to add to my perplexity, the Pondos had made raids on the Xesibes, burning fifteen of their villages and carrying off their grain and other property. My position was by no means an enviable one, but my greatest trials were yet to come.

THE MURDER OF MR. HOPE.

Three or four days after my return from Matatiela, Mr. Hope, the Magistrate with Umhlontlo, informed me by letter that Umhlontlo had volunteered to raise men for my relief while I was besieged, and had proposed that Hope should accompany the force, but having heard of my escape he sent 'to congratulate me, his father, for my escape from Basuto treachery.' Hope considered this sympathy and congratulation genuine and spontaneous, inasmuch as many of the headmen, apparently without Umhlontlo's knowledge, had sent similar messages of congratulation; but I was doubtful at least of Umhlontlo's sincerity, for I knew that he was one of the chiefs who had given their adhesion to the Basuto proposal in April. Moreover, I well knew his treacherous and unreliable disposition.

A day or two afterwards Hope proposed to take the field with Umhlontlo and his clan against the rebels. I replied that I could neither suggest nor recommend such a course, for the risk to Hope was too great as he might fall by Umhlontlo's treachery. Nevertheless, if he himself wished it, I would not object, for if he succeeded he would detach Umditshwa and the Tembu clans from the rebellion, and to accomplish such an object he was justified in incurring serious risks. In writing thus to Hope, I felt that I myself would have incurred serious risks to secure so great an end.

Mr. Hope then immediately took the field and from Sulin-kama, his last resting place, he wrote me a most characteristic note, comparing his position to a game of whist when one may be confident of the game, but finds that his opponent holds the ace of trumps. He added that he was sure of success, for he held the ace of trumps in his hand. He proceeded to say that Umhlontlo had dined with him,

and that he was then quietly sleeping beneath the ammunition waggon.

Two hundred rifles with ammunition had been supplied to Hope without my knowledge, and had I known in time I should have objected; but having heard of the receipt, I directed him to send half the supply to Mr. Thomson who had reliable men in whose hands he could have placed the arms, which would have been of incalculable value to him in his subsequent struggle with the rebels; but Hope kept all, and the following morning they fell into Umhlontlo's hands.

Mr. Hope's bright vision was but for one night; the following morning ushered in the darkest tragedy of this dark period. After breakfasting with Hope, Umhlontlo went to muster his men, forming them into a circle and appointing six men who, when Hope and his staff came into the circle, were to stand behind Hope, Warren, and Henman, and at a given signal were to assassinate them from behind. This having been arranged, Umhlontlo went to Hope's tent and told him that all was now ready, and that he was prepared to hand over his people to the Magistrate for his final orders. The two walked arm-in-arm into the fatal circle, the staff following. Calmly and coolly addressing the people, Umhlontlo told them that he had now relinquished them into Mr. Hope's hands, that he would now issue his instructions to them, and they were to obey them. Having said this he took Davis, Mr. Hope's clerk, by the hand, saying he wished to speak to him. This being the appointed signal, the six men stabbed their unsuspecting victims and despatched them. Three Pondos, who had accompanied Umhlontlo, were then directed to proceed to Umqikela to tell him what they had seen—Um-

hlontlo adding that Umqikela would now no longer doubt him. The messengers were further entrusted with Hope's gun and horse, which they were directed to take as a present to Ndabankulu, Umqikela's brother. Ten of the Government rifles were subsequently sent as a present to Umqikela.

ATTACK ON MR. THOMSON.

The murder accomplished, Umhlontlo, now armed with the Government rifles, proceeded to attack Mr. Thomson the magistrate of Maclear, having previously done all in his power to induce Mr. Thomson and Mr. Welsh, the magistrate of Tsolo, to meet Mr. Hope to arrange plans of operations; but as neither of them trusted Umhlontlo, they escaped the snare and Hope's fate.

At this time Mr. Thomson was out at a trader's station with forty men of the Barkly Border Guard under Captain Muhlenbeck, together with the Batlokwa Chief, Lehana, and one hundred and twenty of his clan watching the course of events. Umhlontlo, without warning, and before Thomson knew of Hope's end, came down on our little force; but he had to do with a wary and experienced general, and, after a short and severe conflict, was beaten off; but being reinforced from his own tribe, and by Basutos from Lehana's clan, under Lindingwana, Lehana's superior, the conflict was renewed from day to day, every effort being used to crush the gallant little party, but they bravely held their own till a month later, when I was enabled to send them relief from Kokstad.

Though breaking the chronology of my narrative, I will, for the sake of making the case more clear, proceed with Mr. Thomson, and though Blue Books are dry and uninteresting, I will by way of change give you a treat from one of them.

"On Mr. Thomson's return to the Residency he found matters in the most disorganized condition. The Fingo clans of his division, seeing no prospect of aid, and seeing only destruction before them, had temporized in order to save themselves, and had promised to give in their adhesion to the rebels, and some of them as well as a portion of the Bastards had actually joined the rebels; but on Mr. Thomson's return to the Residency he established confidence, and those who during the time he was besieged at Chevy Chase had been doubtful, were rallied by him.

"The whole force of the Pondomise, Basutos, and Tembus, was now directed against Mr. Thomson, and having heard that he was short of ammunition and bread, I arranged to send him a supply; but Commandant Usher, having heard that Mr. Thomson was relieved from Dordrecht, and was carrying on offensive operations, the supplies despatched for Mr. Thomson were handed over to Commandant Usher, who was stationed at Mount Fletcher, between the Basutos, Pondomise, and Tembus, and who himself was short of supplies.

"For a month all communication was cut off between me and Mr. Thomson, till in the beginning of December I heard that no relief had been obtained from Dordrecht, and that Mr. Thomson, attacked by overwhelming odds, and surrounded on all sides was reduced to the last extremity in regard to food as well as ammunition, I then again gave orders for supplies to be sent to Mr. Thomson; but before they reached Gatberg, Mr. Thomson was relieved from Dordrecht, and he, with those who still adhered to Government, were removed to Dordrecht. This was much against his will; all that he required was a supply of arms and ammunition, with this he would have held his post.

"The highest praise is due to Mr. Thomson, for the gallant stand he made at Chevy Chase supported by Captain Muhlenbeck, and forty of the Barkly Volunteers, and Lehana with his one hundred and twenty men, and for subsequently rallying and gaining men, who to all intents and purposes appeared, as a matter of self-defence, to have cast in their lot with the rebels.

"On the day on which Mr. Hope and his companions were murdered, Stephen Adonis, a native missionary, labouring among Umhlontlo's people, made his escape and brought the tidings to Mr. Welsh, who at once with his family and that of the Rev. Mr. Stuart and Mrs. Stuart, and the family of Mr. Leary, took refuge in the gaol, a small stone building with an iron roof, the only defensible one on the Residency, the others being roofed with thatch.

"In this small space the three families with other Europeans, and three or four native policemen, were shut up for fourteen days under the most distressing circumstances. I repeatedly endeavoured to open communication with Mr. Mr. Welsh without effect, and when matters appeared hopeless and the death of the party either by starvation or violence appeared certain, Major Elliot, the Chief Magistrate of Umtata, arranged for their rescue, through Nqwiliso, whose men were accompanied by the Rev. Mr. Morris. Wesleyan missionary with Nqwiliso, and a small band of European volunteers from Umtata, whose names, if I had them, I would gladly record in this report. *

* The names of the party who went to rescue Mr. Welsh, were Rev. J. S. Morris, Messrs. Alexander K. Granville, John J. Vice, Charles Loder, Reuben James Cowie, Thomas William Mathews and Joseph Vice.

"For a few days after the outbreak our position at Kokstad appeared to be desperate. Twenty-eight Griquas, either by choice or from compulsion, joined the rebels. The Mapiyanes, on whose fidelity I had counted, deserted their chiefs, Zibi and Ramhlangwana, and were in arms against us. Desertions took place from among the Hlubis, and a small clan from the Umzimkulu district joined the rebels. Lebenya was left almost alone on the side of the Government, his people having abandoned and robbed him while Makaula's and Jojo's appeared to be the only clans, standing by us; but instead of being a source of strength to us they earnestly solicited aid in men and arms, which we could not supply, to protect them from attacks which they feared from the Pondos. The only side from which we could except aid was the Umzimkulu, and as soon as the people of this division heard that their chief, Strachan, was in danger they poured into Kokstad night and day, during the most inclement weather, and by their advance on Matatiela, and dispersing the Basutos, who were assembling on the Umzimvubu, twenty-five miles from this, for an attack on Kokstad, they restored confidence not only to Kokstad but to the Hlubis and other clans, who, before they saw any prospect of aid were, prepared to cast in their lot with the rebels. Sidoi, whose action during the Griqua rebellion and on other occasions was at the best doubtful, came out with his sons at the very first, and with his clan did excellent service."

Men were now fast coming in, but every thing seemed to be moving at a snail's pace, while the fate of men, women and children hung in the balance. One day a report came in that Welsh and all his party had been slaughtered. Then again that report was contradicted. Then came a

small scrap of paper, sent out by a Native woman, saying, "We are in the last extremity, and cannot hold out much longer." And when all hope of saving them from Kokstad had failed, and the gloom and darkness was at its darkest, relief came from an unexpected quarter. Major Elliot, Chief Magistrate at Umtata, effected the rescue. He brought good out of evil. Nqwiliso's Pondos had at the outbreak of the rebellion looted some shops. Nqwiliso sent to express his regret to the gallant Major, and he at once told Nqwiliso that the only way he could manifest his regret, and shew that he had no part in the rebellion, was immediately to send a force for Mr. Welsh's rescue. This was done as you have already heard.

And now, ladies and gentlemen, I have finished. My story has been long, it might have been much longer. I might have told you about Usher, a gallant young fellow, who fell bravely leading his men to attack some rebel caves, and of others; and of the noble fidelity of Natives, who, in spite of all temptations and persuasions, stood nobly to their duty; but when I write a book I may make up the omission. One minute more and I have done. Bear with me while I read a notice I sent to the *Watchman* announcing the death of Hope. Thomson also is now dead. He never recovered the strain of the three weary month's siege. His eldest daughter died shortly after the relief; and this, added to his broken health, brought on the death of a man, who, in the late rebellion and in two previous wars, bravely faced death and danger at his country's call.

"Hamilton Hope is dead !

When the Basuto rebellion broke out, animated by a desire to serve his country, he volunteered to take the field

with Umhlontlo and his men in order to check the rebels, and to support such of the Basutos as desired to remain of the side of Government. For this purpose he went out for a few days, and to all appearance succeeded in what he had undertaken to do. Being desirous of committing Umhlontlo still further to our side, Mr. Hope proposed to go a step further, and take Umhlontlo out against the rebels.

Warnings of treachery came in from all sides. The Chief Magistrate, in telegraphing to Government, used these expressive words, "Hope has heroically gone out with his life in his hand, alone with a treacherous devil."

This message was communicated to Mr. Hope, who was further informed by the Chief Magistrate, that in what he was doing he was incurring a serious risk and danger to himself; but as the move was originally proposed by Umhlontlo himself, and as Mr. Hope had gone into the thing, true to the chivalrous traditions of his family and name, he stood to his purpose. He believed he could perform an important service to his country, and was prepared to incur any risk in accomplishing this end. Mr. Davis, Mr. Hope's clerk, volunteered to accompany his chief in this dangerous duty, also two young men, named Henman and Warren, from the Chief Magistrate's office at Umtata; but when the intended treachery of Umhlontlo came to Mr. Hope's knowledge, he mentioned it to the young men, and advised them to stay at home, saying that he was prepared to meet the risk and danger alone; but, with generous British hearts, which clime and change do not degenerate, they expressed their determination to stand by Mr. Hope at all hazards.

Henman and Warren fell with Hope. Of Davis, it is said that as his father was for many years Umhlontlo's

missionary, and as his brother now occupies the same position, Umhlontlo saved Davis.

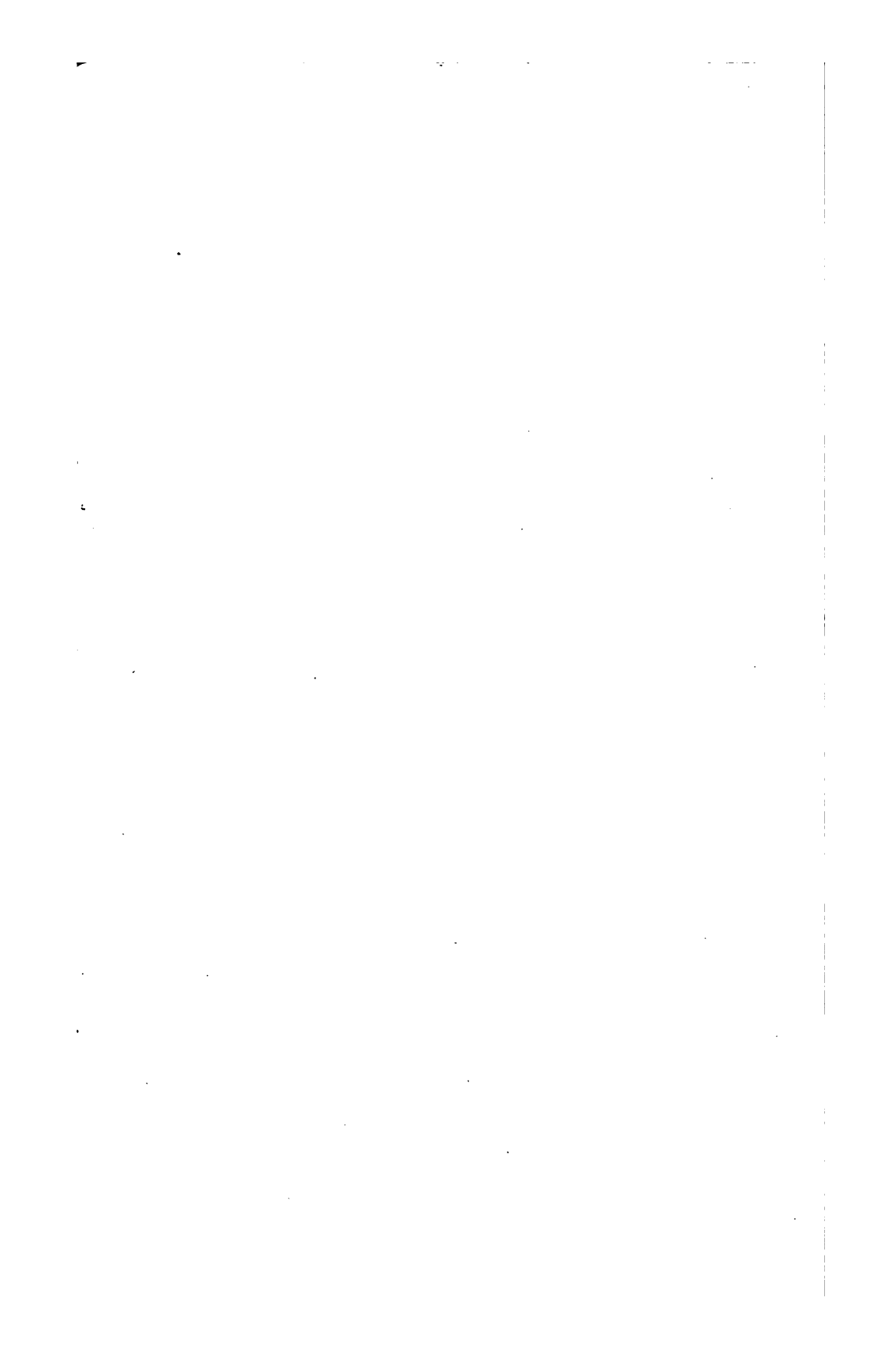
Hamilton Hope is dead! These words will be read with a thrill by thousands in the Cape Colony who had the privilege of his acquaintance, and by whom his sterling qualities and upright manly character were known.

Such calm courage and fortitude as Mr. Hope displayed are virtues of the highest kind. A man may storm a battery or lay his body in the breach, animated by enthusiasm or inspired by the stirring cheers of applauding comrades; but to be exposed to danger for days and nights, with shattered health, in rain and cold, and to bear constantly before one the idea of treachery without flinching, requires an amount of fortitude which few men possess; and when the history of the present rebellion is recorded, the names of Hope, Warren, and Henman should be exhibited in bold relief: for though they fell by the hands of treacherous assassins, they fell foremost in their country's cause.

"Died Abner as a fool dieth? Thy hands were not bound, nor thy feet put into fetters. As a man falleth before wicked men, so fellest thou. And all the people wept over him."

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